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receive $100 in return. The last sum is now the value of the copper. This second bestowal may take place before the owner has paid the $50 that he owes to the original possessor. There is no time limit to Bella Coola debts since it adds to the debtor's prestige to pay off his indebtedness, publicly of course, when his creditor is giving a ceremony of any kind. At every change in ownership announcement is made of the history of the copper and of its value at every stage of its existence. In this way the worth of a copper increases until it is fit to be thrown into the fire after the passing of a dead kinsman. When one that has been used as *ănuxop'* is at last cast into the flames, and later rescued from them, it is customary for the new owner to use it once more as *ănuxop'*. On the other hand, a copper that has been raised to value by the gift of a name, painting, and so forth, is normally again revalued in the same way when rescued from oblivion. There is no definite rule about this; it is only a tendency.

The value of a copper acquired from either a white man or a member of a foreign tribe is equivalent to its purchase price, and can be raised in any one of the ways employed for one that has been thrown into a fire.

In many cases the donor of a potlatch prefers not to be the actual possessor of a copper at the time of the entry of his deceased relative, though he always arranges to obtain one. When the masked figure has disappeared, the donor stands up and says:

"I have nothing to make bone for my ancestor. Chief So-and-so, please give me your copper."

The chief so called upon transmits the copper with a statement of its value and the recipient throws it into the fire. Nothing is said about repayment, but the transaction has been public and everyone realizes that the chief must repay with 100 per cent interest when the seller gives his next ceremony. In this way the donor is able to use a copper without having had to pay for it at an inconvenient time when he needs all his wealth to give to his foreign guests. A chief often sells a copper

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435 immediately before, or during the early stages of a potlatch, in order to receive goods immediately, but with the proviso that *556 it shall be returned to him for throwing into the fire. This [432] method has the advantage of providing the chief with goods [426] when required, and doubles the worth of the copper.

Coppers are not always rescued from the ashes and given to poor men. If one is still lying in the fire after several days, [764] the donor of the potlatch removes it and fastens it to the memorial-post over the grave of his deceased relative. It may be left there, or another chief wanting a copper may buy it from the donor and increase its value in the usual manner. Only a small price is paid in such circumstances, since the copper, having served its purpose, is practically valueless.

177 The Bella Coola state that in ancient times coppers were worth less than at present, and that the change in sentiment 435 regarding them is due to Kwakiutl influence. All agree that *556 the value placed upon them at Fort Rupert and Alert Bay is greater than elsewhere on the coast. The Bella Coola believe that the Kwakiutl distribute presents in respect to their coppers and that their values mount to enormous sums when the gifts are returned. It is clear that the importance of coppers, like the potlatch and other elements of culture, has increased in recent years through the influence of the coastal tribes.

*556 It is almost impossible to define coppers in the nomenclature of economic theory. They are not mere articles of barter, since they have no practical use outside the ceremonies of chiefs. Nor are they standardized units of trade or cur- [436] rency, since each differs not only from all other coppers, but also at different periods. In a sense they serve as tokens of [211] what has been expended; representations of them may be carved and painted on totem-poles where they serve as marks [532] of the goods which the chief has given away, but this is only a minor consideration. A copper can perhaps best be described [426] as an investment which can be applied only to one purpose, [435] "the making of bone for a deceased" person. It grows more valuable at every transmission in accordance with the goods ex-

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old man came back to Bella Coola with his son, a man about twenty-five years of age. During his absence all his relatives had died, and he was forgotten. He went to the house of a man with whom his ancestors had intermarried generations ago, explained who he was, and was welcomed. The old man and his son have since lived there, although it is doubtful if the owner of the house had ever heard of their existence, and the son cannot even speak the Bella Coola language.

X and Y themselves are not entirely overlooked in the exchange of presents between their two families. If Y's father is well pleased with his son-in-law he may show this not only publicly, which redounds to his own credit, but by the communication of secret lore such as a special number of nights for ceremonial chastity. Conversely, if Y should not be a *kusiut*, her father-in-law often asks her father's permission to make her a member of that society. The woman's father is naturally pleased and makes no objections; so she is initiated, using a name and prerogative embodied in her husband's family. Commonly too, they give her one of their ancestral names at any convenient ceremony later than the wedding. In conformity with the rules already explained, if Y should die childless the names return to X's relatives, but if there are children they pass to them. It is said that *ssaok* names can never be transferred in this manner.

Y's father and other relatives continue to take an interest in her ceremonial welfare and in her personal comfort. If X beats or otherwise abuses her, they expostulate; and if his cruelty becomes unbearable they shelter their daughter when she runs away from her husband. If X should murder Y, she would be revenged by her family. Only one instance of this was known, when the murderer avoided his pursuers by fleeing from the country. As a rule a wife is fairly well treated, though this depends on the character of the husband, the importance of her relatives, and the amount of goods expended to validate the marriage. Among slaves and persons of no influence, it is assumed that a husband may sell his wife as a

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593 slave, and this is believed to have occurred on one occasion
567 to the daughter of a chief.

● 432 Once, many hundred years ago, the daughter of a Bella Coola chief
148 was married to the son of *Taxlexwam*, a Bella Bella chief, living at *Qoqoyel*. At the marriage, in Bella Coola, valuable presents were given by both families, and the girl went to live in Bella Bella with her husband. Some ten years later, *Taxlexwam* gave a large potlatch to which he had invited guests from all parts of the coast. As in duty bound, his daughter-in-law's relatives gave a certain amount of goods to rebuy her. They were not wealthy, so that the contribution was of small value. *Taxlexwam* had expected a larger present, and now found himself unable even to repay his debts to those who had assembled. He did not immediately show his resentment, but soon afterwards sold his daughter-in-law as slave to a Kitkatla chief. The Bella Coola were justly indignant, but could not make up their minds what to do in such an unprecedented case. The girl ultimately escaped and made her way home after lengthy wanderings (II, p. 505).

837 A husband demands faithfulness on the part of his wife, though he himself is often rather lax. Illicit intercourse is regarded, not as a deadly sin, but as an infringement of the husband's prerogatives. But if a woman should bear a child at a time when it was impossible for the husband to have been the father, due to absence, he would probably accept it as his
[586] own and do no more than administer a beating, though some jealous men would divorce a wife for this. Bella Coola sentiment on such matters varies with the individual; it is universally considered to be a matter that concerns the husband
[184] alone and he can do as he thinks fit. The daughters of chiefs are usually faithful to their husbands, whereas those of poorer persons, unrestrained by the valuables expended at their mar-
[682] riages, are more lax. If the husband should catch an adulterer, he can, if bold, slay him on the spot and the exaction of blood revenge would be uncalled for. Usually a fight ends the matter, though the offender's family may give presents to the aggrieved husband, and his wife's relatives may also make donations to atone for their daughter's failings. A husband does not share his wife with anyone, and a question as to the lending of a wife

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539 * 787 She assumed it to be a forest fire, but, when she idly went near to investigate, her amazement was past all bounds at seeing a fine house filled with valuables. Nor was her surprise lessened when she discovered that *'Yēăxdji* was lord of it all. He welcomed her gladly, gave her a hearty meal, and sent back with her some seal meat for her child, only adding that it was to be eaten secretly as he did not wish his father to know of his good fortune.

"But," he added, "I don't mind if you send me any of the people except my father, especially any who were good to me long ago."

The slave woman thankfully carried the meat home to her child. But he, long deprived of proper food, ate so ravenously that night that a lump stuck in his throat and his coughing awoke *Ḳomo'sala*. The chief pounded the youngster's back until he vomited what was obviously a piece of seal. The slave woman, remembering *'Yēăxdji*'s order, tried to evade her master's questions as to where her son had obtained it, but at last she blurted out the truth, how the abandoned youth had become prosperous.

The slave woman and her friends moved to *Ḳwiyai*, where *'Yēăxdji* used his power of thought to obtain for them houses filled with everything they could desire. But *Ḳomo'sala* and those left with him were starving, so that they too were driven to seek his aid, gladly marrying their daughters to him in return for his protection. He rapidly rose to a position of importance, being the husband of both real and fictitious wives, and was even able to provide his elder brothers with mates. Some of the women married to him became almost his slaves, as their families were unable to rebuy them.

Supernatural Good Luck

777 * 787 A third manner in which the Bella Coola can come into contact with powers of another plane is through supernatural good luck. This consists in obtaining something from a supernatural being, usually a portion of its slain body, which acts [224] [226] as a bait to fish, mammals, and even to such inanimate articles as blankets or skins. Even a tiny morsel placed on a weir will attract numerous salmon, or if set on a trap will prove an infallible lure to animals. When put in the owner's box, valuables will be attracted to it as steel to a magnet. Thus the fortunate possessor will be able to give many potlatches and to reach a [432] high position in the community. Since this good fortune is

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wrapped up in a specific object it follows that the luck is transmissible; in fact, one of the chief advantages to the man who owns some valuable object is the wealth which he derives from selling a small portion of it.

The Bella Coola term for supernatural good luck is *siye*, meaning, "What is Good." This can come from any being though it is most frequently obtained either from a *mätsqus* or a *sɔsiutl*. The former resembles a toad of enormous size, with a blazing fire-like glow in its throat; the latter is a double-headed salmon or snake that can travel on land. The person who succeeds in killing one of these creatures can use the carcass as a lure to wealth, if he knows the proper means. The portion must be wrapped in an article that has been in close contact with the slayer, such as a piece of his soiled clothing. This must be kept carefully hidden for one year in a cranny to which no rain can penetrate, and after that it can be used as bait. There is equal potency in a stick or other object which has come in contact with the beast. Great danger is attached to the sight of a *mätsqus* or a *sɔsiutl*, since death usually follows any incorrect attempt to gain wealth from either. The person who sees one of these creatures feels no ill effects until he draws near a fire, when his stomach bursts. All the Bella Coola agree that if a man has been close to one he can be saved by the use of certain medicines, but the following stories show that there is no clear-cut opinion as to which are the best. In fact, most families have knowledge of a specific cure which they regard as the most efficacious.

The opportunity to obtain supernatural good luck does not come solely to unfortunate individuals; indeed the Bella Coola state that it is fortuitous. It appears, however, that usually the person who is thus favoured is one who has practised ceremonial chastity, or is, through some other means, in a state of cleanliness pleasing to the supernatural. At any rate the danger of seeing such creatures is less to a man who is in a pure condition than to any other. Further, in most cases they are apt to appear to a person whose ancestors have seen one.